

# French



# Revolution

## Topics of Study – French Revolution

### Unit 3: France 1781 – dissolution of the Convention Year 111 (1795)

Outline of study, indicating assessment tasks, and examination of the nature and meaning of revolution. An introduction to the country under study.

Social structure – three Estates, rights and privileges, taxation.

Theory and practice of Divine Right.

Relationship between Church and Monarchy.

France's economic situation in 1781. Involvement in American War.

Necker's *Compte Rendu*. Growing tension, calls for economic reform.

Assembly of Notables, dismissal of the Paris *Parlement*, call for the Estates General.

Examination of the key ideas of the Enlightenment and their impact on calls for reform.

The *Philosophes*. Key personalities /writers. Writing of the *Cahiers*, elections to the Estates General, raised expectations, the issue of the 'doubling of the third'. 'What is the Third Estate?'

Collapse of the Estates General. The Tennis Court Oath.

What was revolutionary about the formation of the National Assembly, and why did it prevail over threats from the Crown and aristocracy?

Storming of the Bastille. 'Who stormed it and why?'

The Great Fear. 4 August the surrender of privileges in the National Assembly.

August Decrees 1789, The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen 1789.

Declining influence of the Monarchy. The October Days, return of King to Paris.

Influence of various leaders such as Lafayette, Mirabeau, Bailly.

Development of policies and ideas on which to found the new society.

Role of monarchy, work of the National Assembly, reforms to finance, the economy, justice and the Church.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy

Peasant and *Sans Culottes* disillusionment with the revolution 1790 to 1791.

The formation of political clubs, the Cordeliers, the Jacobins Leaders such as Danton, Desmoulins, Marat.

The King's flight to Varennes.

Emergence of republican sentiments, The Champs de Mars. The Constitution of 1791.

The Legislative Assembly. Declaration of war on Austria, increasing tension in Paris.

Invasion of Tuileries and massacre of the Swiss guard August 1792.

Imprisonment of Louis XVI.

The Convention September 1792, September massacres, progress of the war.

The trial and execution of the King, death of Marat, counter revolution.

Extension of war. The Committee of Public Safety, legislation of the Terror, influence of individuals such as Robespierre, Danton, Hebert and the sans culottes.

Dechristianisation. The Great Terror June–July 1794.

Withdrawal of policies of the Terror, return of Girondins to the Convention.



## Cram Notes: The French Revolution

These Cram Notes summarise key concepts and content for the French Revolution, following the requirements of each Area of Study in the VCAA Study Design. Use them to help you revise your knowledge and understanding of what will be tested in the external exam.

### Overview

Eighteenth-century France was characterised by privilege. Firstly, the monarch operated under a system of personal privilege called 'absolute monarchy'. This system gave the French kings unlimited authority that was legitimised by the powerful Church. Secondly, as a reward for their support, the monarch gave significant honorific and taxation deals to the nobility and clergy, who therefore became known as the 'privileged estates'. As a result, French society was based on political, economic and social inequality.

Yet the French Revolution did not occur solely because of the way society was structured. Instead it came about because of a complex combination of several long- and short-term factors, each of which, according to different historians, carried different significance. The main short-term factor contributing to the creation of a revolutionary situation in France was the financial bankruptcy created by a severe fiscal crisis that was disguised through Necker's *Compte Rendu* in 1781. Controller General Calonne's solution in 1786 of introducing a radical land tax was unanimously defeated by the Assembly of Notables, and prompted the *Paris Parlement* to call for an Estates General to authoritatively and permanently resolve the crisis. Ironically, the nobles' very act of attempting to preserve their privileges and improve their status was the undoing not just of the nobility but of the entire structure of French society.

The increased expectations that the nation's grievances should not just be addressed but should be solved made the failure of the Estates General even more catastrophic for Louis' regime. The onset of the revolution in June 1789 was both dramatic and surprising: revolutions are generally born out of spontaneous events or seized opportunities, rather than arising from carefully planned strategies and orchestrated actions. Paris was electrified when the Third Estate deputies boldly formed a National Assembly and took an oath never to separate until a constitution had been written. Louis XVI was indecisive politically but militarily called in over 30 000 troops, which the crowds of Paris interpreted as a declaration of intent to forcibly overthrow the new body. The subsequent storming and defeat of the royal Bastille prison intensified a peasant revolt throughout the provinces. Such mass disturbances influenced the Assembly to euphorically abolish feudalism and only weeks later to pen the profound Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen, which became a blueprint for the 1791 Constitution.

These early events resulted in a dramatic displacement of power from the monarchy, as Louis no longer had the authority over his troops. Whoever controls military power controls political power. So politically and militarily, Paris was under the authority of the Assembly, backed by the power of the popular movement. This enabled the Assembly to implement a series of far-reaching reforms that included overhauling the corrupt church and land redistribution.

The fraternity that began fracturing with the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was split wide open with the onset of war with Austria in April 1792. This directly brought about a radical phase within the revolution. In the earlier ideological phase, privilege was attacked, whereas in this radical phase attention was turned inward to eradicate counter-revolutionaries from among the ranks of the revolutionaries themselves. Influential leaders like Marat, Danton, Hébert and Robespierre were all victims of this revolutionary fervour, along with estimates of as high as 200 000 peasants in the provinces. They were hapless victims of a paranoid system that saw suspects at every turn in its attempts to preserve the new society from the

hands the Grand Coalition armies, and mould its citizens into those that would uphold the revolutionary virtues.

The crucial turning point in the downfall of Robespierre and the Jacobins occurred in mid-1794. The revolution was safe when the war with Austria ended victoriously for the French; yet the terror intensified. Robespierre supported the Law of 22 Prairial, which removed deputies' previous immunity from arrest. Threatened by Robespierre's paranoid declaration that a final purge of the Convention, Committees of Public Safety and General Security was needed, members of the Convention bravely rose against him. His arrest then execution, along with eighty of his supporters, ended the Reign of Terror and the Jacobin dictatorship.

Instead of putting the Terror behind them, the National Convention began an intense examination of the Jacobin era called the 'Thermidorean Reaction'. The primary focus during this period was on removing the radical political and social excesses of the Jacobin era with the aim of becoming more moderate. These changes (such as the abolition of the Law of Suspects and Law of 22 Prairial) were consolidated in the 1795 Constitution. The obvious reversal of many of the initial ideals and policies of the 1789–94 revolution indicated the new Directory's zeal in removing all evidence of the previous regime. The purging that occurred in 1795 has a basic similarity with the direct attempts in 1789 to remove traces of the previous regime.

### 1. Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

The central question of this Area of Study is simple: Why did the French Revolution happen? The answer, however, is quite complicated. This half of the course asks you not only to understand the various reasons why the revolution occurred, but more interestingly, to decide which ones you consider to be the most significant. The Study Design outlines several important factors that you are expected to know about, each of which will be analysed in the section below: causes of tensions and conflicts, ideas utilised in revolutionary struggle, and the roles of revolutionary individuals and groups.

The time period for this Area of Study is notable for its exclusions. While knowledge of the following figures and topics would provide useful background to France in the late eighteenth century, they fall outside the specified time frame and therefore aren't dealt with in these Cram Notes: Louis XIV, the Sun King (1643–1715); Louis XV (1715–74); Seven Years War with Austria (1756–63); and the marriage and early years of Louis XVI's reign (1770–80).

#### Chronology of key events

Date	Event	Significance
Feb. 1781	<b>Controller General Necker's <i>Compte Rendu</i></b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Necker had avoided implementing new taxes despite borrowing £520 million largely to finance the American War of Independence.</li> <li>Necker's 'complete review' of the nation's finances hid the massive interest repayments on the loans and suggested France was £10 million in credit.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Necker's borrowing plunged France into even greater financial disaster.</li> <li>Necker's disguising of the drastic state of the nation's financial situation meant that financial reforms did not seem urgent.</li> <li>With no financial reforms implemented, the crisis worsened.</li> </ul>
Feb. 1787	<b>Assembly of Notables</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Emergency body that could be convened by the King for advice.</li> <li>It unanimously voted 'no' to implementing Calonne's financial reform – a new proportional land tax that everyone would have had to pay.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Louis was not willing to exercise his absolute power and pass Calonne's reform.</li> <li>The nobility chose to maintain their privileges rather than support their King on the reform.</li> <li>The 'no' vote marked the beginning of the 'aristocratic revolt'.</li> </ul>
Sept. 1788	<b>Paris <i>Parlement</i> reinstated</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Parlement's</i> publication of their remonstrances against the King's edicts had successfully created a public perception that they were the people's voice.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Louis' absolutism was being destroyed by his inept, contradictory leadership.</li> <li>The transfer of power from the King to the people was beginning.</li> </ul>



Date	Event	Significance
1788-1789	<b>Cahier de doléances</b> • Louis XVI requested every social class in every town and village to submit a list of their grievances. • These were intended to be discussed at the Estates General.	• Political and social debate was heightened as people were invited to suggest solutions to the nation's problems. • Expectations of reform rose dramatically.
Jan. 1789	<b>Abbé Sieyès' publication <i>What is the Third Estate?</i></b> • A popular pamphlet that attacked the privileged estates and redefined the Third Estate as being 'everything'.	• The pamphlet stated the reality of life in France - that it was a country run by the Third Estate. • It inspired and emboldened the bourgeoisie.
5 May 1789	<b>Estates General</b> • Emergency body called to solve the fiscal crisis. • Made up of deputies from each of the three estates.	• Voting by order not head resulted in a stalemate. • The stalemate signalled not just the failure of the Estates General but of the current regime.
17 June 1789	• The bourgeoisie declared themselves the National Assembly. The National Assembly refused to meet separately and invited other estates to join it.	• The declaration demonstrated the growing radicalisation of the bourgeoisie. • The declaration fulfilled Sieyès' argument. • The Assembly was joined by many lower clergy.
20 June 1789	<b>Tennis Court Oath</b> • A royal plot was suspected after the Assembly was locked out of their meeting room. • On a royal tennis court the Assembly swore to remain together until a constitution had been written.	• It united the bourgeoisie deputies. • The oath gave the deputies strength and vision for the direction of the National Assembly. • The oath was a momentous act of defiance against the monarchy.
23 June 1789	<b>Royal Session</b> • Louis ordered all the estates to a meeting. • Louis declared the National Assembly illegal and for the estates to continue meeting and voting separately.	• It highlighted the King's inability to respond to the demands and changes of the bourgeoisie deputies. • The bourgeoisie had the confidence that they had the numbers to resist the King's demands.
27 June 1789	• Louis ordered estates to unite as the National Assembly. • Defeated by the National Assembly's resistance, Louis reversed his own demands of four days earlier.	• These events demonstrated the King's weak political nature and lack of support within the privileged estates.
11 July 1789	<b>Necker dismissed</b> • Louis had called up to 30 000 troops to surround Paris. • The people's favourite, Necker, was replaced secretly.	• The people of Paris feared that the King was planning to dissolve the National Assembly and revolution by force.
14 July 1789	<b>Fall of the Bastille</b> • To protect themselves from royal troops, crowds gathered at the Bastille in search of gunpowder. • The crowds attacked and the governor of the Bastille surrendered and was killed.	• A hated symbol of monarchical despotism was defeated. • The Paris crowds gained power. • The King had lost control of Paris. • The National Assembly was now able to write a new constitution without fear of military overthrow.
July/Aug. 1789	<b>The Great Fear</b> • Desperate from poor harvests and paying feudal dues, peasants attacked nobles' castles and chateaux, burning feudal records and taking grain.	• The King had now lost control of the countryside. • This later motivated the National Assembly to abolish feudalism.
4 Aug. 1789	<b>Abolition of Feudalism</b> • In a night of euphoria, the National Assembly delegates gave up their privileges and abolished feudalism.	• The greatest grievances and inequalities of the traditional regime were redressed.

## The causes of tensions and conflicts within the old regime

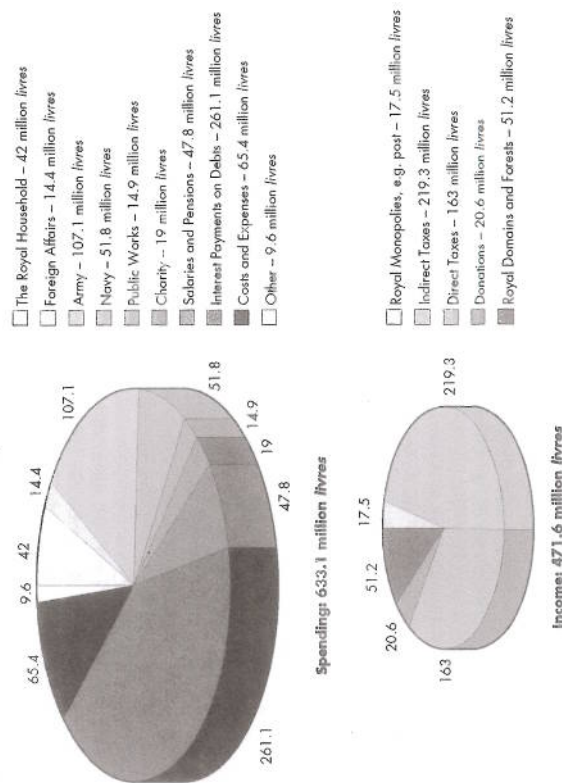
### Political tensions and conflicts

- The very structure of society reinforced France's system of absolute monarchy, which was strengthened by the fact that the Bourbon family had ruled since 1589.

- Failed attempts at economic, social or political reform meant that France in the 1780s was a chaotic system of overlapping administrative, judicial, taxation and religious boundaries. The subsequent confusion meant that privilege and corruption thrived.
- In direct comparison to competent Louis XIV, Louis XVI was a weak leader who was inept at managing ministers and making firm decisions. His lack of political confidence meant that he tried to please people rather than make decisions in the best interest of the country.
- Noted Marxist historian Lefebvre described the period from 1787 to 1789 as the aristocratic revolt when the nobility - through the Assembly of Notables, Paris Parlement and Estates General - attempted to undermine monarchical authority while promoting their own.
- The nobles of the robe attacked the power and prestige of the King through their positions as magistrates in the influential *Parlements* (thirteen supreme law courts throughout France) by issuing *remonstrances* (a memo to the King explaining why an edict had not been passed) and won a strategic victory by being reinstated by the King after only thirteen months in exile.
- Necker's indecision in 1788 doubling the Third Estate representation yet retaining voting by order caused a politically fatal stalemate at the Estates General which sparked the revolution of the bourgeoisie. The Third Estate deputies renamed themselves the National Assembly, declared the Tennis Court Oath and defied the King's demands at the Royal Session, which all resulted in their establishment as the true representatives of the nation. The King legitimised this new body on 27 June 1788 when he commanded deputies from the privileged estates to join the Third Estate.
- The minor player in this aggressive fight for power was Louis XVI, who seemingly watched passively as his traditional political, military and popular power base was smashed from under him.

### Economic tensions and conflicts

- France fell even deeper in debt after Necker borrowed at high interest rates in order to finance the battle against Britain in the American War of Independence. In 1786, Calonne conducted a review of finances that revealed the following crisis: France was 161 million *livres* more in debt each year.





- On 4 August 1789, the newly formed National Assembly abolished feudalism, which had been the economic basis of French society under the Bourbon dynasty.

### Social tensions and conflicts

- The inequality of the estate system was the basis of more complex, deep-seated social pressures. The social structure was based entirely on privilege by birth not merit. The First and Second Estates, at most two per cent of the population, controlled France. In 1790, there were only 220 nobles in England whereas at the same time there were between 110 000 and 350 000 nobles in France. Even if we take the lower figure, this made 500 times more nobles in France than England whose enjoyment of privilege placed pressures on the social and economic system.
- Between 1716 and 1789 trade multiplied fourfold. For example, in 1771 the port of Bordeaux imported the following massive amounts: coffee (worth 112 million *livres*), indigo (worth twenty-one million *livres*), refined sugar (worth nineteen million *livres*), and crude sugar (worth nine million *livres*). This developed an extremely wealthy and upwardly mobile section of bourgeois traders from within the Third Estate. Despite this wealth, the strict estate system did not enable them to gain the social prestige and taxation privileges of the nobility.
- In order to address the financial crisis, the monarchy sold off positions called 'venal offices'. Fifty thousand positions were available in royal civil service for buying, selling and inheriting. The capital value of these offices was perhaps as high as one billion *livres*. Thirty-nine thousand of these venal offices were owned by the bourgeoisie, but buying a venal office did not automatically make one a noble. Throughout the eighteenth century, only 2200 bourgeois families were made nobles by buying a venal office. Another 4300 bourgeoisie were made nobles by a direct grant from the King.
- It is often assumed that the tension between the bourgeoisie and nobility was the cause of the revolution. This overlooks the fact that the bourgeoisie wanted to become nobles and wanted a share of their privileges rather than to remove them. The significant event that turned the bourgeoisie against the nobles occurred when the Paris *Parlement* was reinstated in September 1788, led by nobles of the robe: the nobles stubbornly insisted on voting by order at the Estates General.
- One key condition leading to revolution is that of a nation's rising expectations being unfulfilled. This was experienced throughout France when the *cahiers de doléances*, literally 'lists of grievances', were not addressed at the Estates General in May 1789.
- Perceived social or economic inequality or lack of political voice was also a crucial short-term factor. A clear example encompassing all these factors is demonstrated in the perceptions of the bourgeoisie. They had considered the nobility their political allies against the monarch until September 1788 when the nobility declared that voting at the long-anticipated Estates General should be by order not head.

### The ideas and ideologies used in revolutionary struggle

- The main ideas that underpinned the revolution came from the Enlightenment, an intellectual movement of the 1600s–1700s from which logic, reason and experimentation emerged as new methods for investigating and understanding social and philosophical concepts. *Philosophes* such as Montesquieu, Rousseau and Voltaire thought critically about society and suggested alternatives in order to create a more humane and 'enlightened' society.
- What were some leading theories of the *philosophes*? Absolute monarchy was criticised by Montesquieu, who suggested the separation of powers into executive, legislative and judicial. Both the Catholic Church and the concept of divine right were vehemently criticised by Voltaire. Jean-Jacques Rousseau was utilised most obviously during the revolution due to his emphasis on the general will of the people and the notion of a social contract between the monarch and his people.
  - What role did the Enlightenment play in creating a revolutionary situation? Historians have continually debated this question, as all of the *philosophes*, bar Condorcet, were dead by 1789. It is certainly difficult to quantify the impact of the

- The inequality of the social structure was transferred into the economic structure. The Third Estate was burdened with significant expenses of paying direct and indirect taxes to the government, tithes to the Church, and feudal rights and dues to their noble landlord.
- The economic, social and political tensions were all compounded in 1788 with a significant harvest crisis. Crises in France were essentially agricultural ones, usually resulting from a series of poor harvests in the provinces. Poor harvests occurred in 1778–89, 1781–82 and 1785–86, but the one in 1788 was arguably the worst for the whole of the 1700s.
- A poor harvest in the countryside meant that there were lower amounts of grain crops (wheat, rye, oats and barley). This meant that the price of grain crops rose dramatically. The high cost of grain crops had two direct implications. Firstly, it meant that many peasants who had produced little or no crops had to buy grain at a high cost from the market. Secondly, businesses in the towns that relied on these raw materials to manufacture their products were directly affected. For example, bakers had to buy wheat flour at a greatly increased cost and so were forced to sell their bread to urban workers at a greatly increased cost. Even manufacturers not using these basic foodstuffs in their production of other types of goods, such as textiles, faced the problem of the less-privileged classes spending so much of their income on bread that they didn't have enough left to buy manufactured goods or luxuries.
- So employers, faced with higher costs and a lower demand for manufactured goods, were forced to reduce wages or often had to go out of business altogether. Therefore, as France in the old regime was an agricultural society, poor harvests created huge crises and contributed to the development of a revolutionary situation by 1789.

#### Proportion of income spent on urban living:

- 50% of income on buying bread (cost 2 *sous* per pound in years of good harvests)
- 16% on vegetables, fat and wine
- 15% on clothing
- 6% on heating and lighting

#### Economic discontent:

- Peasants:
  - about 15% tax to government
  - 10% tithe to church
  - up to 25% to feudal rights and dues
- Urban workers:
  - cost of living between 1771 and 1789 rose 62% but wages only rose 22%
  - by 1789, 88% of wages was spent on buying bread

- Urban workers' response to the economic crisis.** On 28 April 1789, the Revellion Riots occurred. Revellion, the owner a wallpaper factory in Paris, was accused of saying that urban workers could live on only fifteen *sous* per day; his house and factory were set on fire and fifty people were killed or wounded by troops. On 14 July 1789, the urban workers attacked and defeated the King's Bastille prison in Paris. On 5 and 6 October 1789, thousands of women marched to the King's palace at Versailles demanding bread. They physically arrested him and brought him back to Paris so that he could understand the problems of the people more accurately. From here onwards, the King lived at the Tuileries Palace in Paris.

- Peasants' response to the economic crisis.** From 20 July to 6 August 1789, what is now called 'The Great Fear' occurred. The poor harvest of 1788 meant that there was widespread misery and hardship in the countryside. The fall of the Bastille prompted immediate uprisings against the hated taxes and feudal dues. It was called 'The Great Fear' because rumours began that bands of brigands, who were landless violent ruffians, had been employed by the nobles to destroy the new harvest of 1789. The peasants took up weapons to attack these bands of brigands and when they never arrived, as it was simply a false rumour, the peasants took out their anger and fear on the property of their noble landlords. The peasants attacked the storehouses of churches and landowners (where taxes of goods were stored), and attacked nobles' chateaux in order to burn the terriers (the lists of peasants and what they owed). As the peasants' anger was taken out against the system rather than the lives of provincial nobles, there was little bloodshed.



*philosophes*, but their indirect role was evident in that their readers, the liberal nobles and bourgeoisie, were the very groups who initiated and co-ordinated the events of 1789. These educated elite learnt to challenge the traditional structures and to believe that a better society was possible.

- **Was there any lasting impact of the *philosophes*' writings?** By the end of the eighteenth century many major perceptions had changed due to the *philosophes*' writings being adopted by the educated elite. A key undercurrent was in the growing change in public perception of the King from being esteemed as the father of his people to having his competency questioned. It was now taken for granted that absolute monarchy needed to be replaced with an elected parliamentary body. Likewise, a questioning of the legitimacy of the theory of divine right was implicit in the *philosophes*' attack on the Church.

## The role of revolutionary individuals and groups in bringing about change

### Sieyès, 1748–1836

Abbé Sieyès was an unusual character for two reasons. Firstly, he was a member of the privileged clergy. Secondly, he was one of the few notable leaders to survive the Reign of Terror and actually became one of the most powerful leaders of Napoleon Bonaparte's new government in 1799. Yet it was Sieyès widely read pamphlet in January 1789 called *What is the Third Estate?* that articulated and encapsulated the grievances of the Third Estate in the old regime. This 20 000 word pamphlet was arguably the most influential of its time.

- **What was Sieyès' main argument?** Sieyès argued that the Third Estate was 'everything' although to this point had been 'nothing' in the political order. He argued that the Third Estate was powerful and capable enough to make up a complete nation that would flourish without the presence of the privileged orders.
- **Why were Sieyès' ideas so politically and socially radical?** Sieyès turned centuries of commonly held beliefs upside down. He defined the Third Estate as serving a crucial purpose in society, while negating the role of the privileged estates. When the bourgeois deputies from the Estates General met independently, and boldly declared themselves to be the National Assembly on 17 June 1789, they were in fact taking Sieyès' argument to its logical conclusion: the Third Estate indeed represented the French nation.

### Mirabeau, 1748–91

Mirabeau was the most celebrated and feared orator of the National Assembly and regarded as the champion of the people. In *Analysing the French Revolution*, Michael Adcock describe him as having 'a magnificent voice, a commanding presence and an inspiring delivery.'

Mirabeau's courage was most memorable at the Royal Session in June 1789 when he challenged the King to dismiss the Third Estate deputies at bayonet point.

- **What were Mirabeau's key ideas?** Conservatism and moderation were the two main themes behind his ideas. He promoted adopting a system similar to Britain's, with power shared between a monarch and an elected parliament. Regarding the 1791 Constitution, he favoured giving the monarchy an absolute veto over proposed legislature rather than simply the suspensive veto that was eventually implemented.
- **What was the main turning point in Mirabeau's political career?** In March 1790, Mirabeau entered into a secret contract with Louis XVI that gave him a generous monetary allowance in return for his support and advice. Mirabeau felt proud of this new career of cleverly defending royal interests in the Assembly, and did not consider himself a traitor to his own ideology or the revolution. In public, Mirabeau continued to pose a powerful presence to the extent that he was elected twice as the President of the Jacobin club in November 1790 and as President of the Assembly in January 1791.

### Lafayette, 1757–1832

Lafayette was a hero even before 1789. His military role in the American War of Independence earned him the Cross of St Louis and he returned to France in 1782. Due to his experiences in the American colonies, he was exposed to ideas of liberty which he brought back to France, where he was actively involved in reform movements and political assemblies throughout the 1780s. From 1789 to 1791 he was the most important leader of this first phase of revolution and was integral to every major event during this period.

- **Lafayette's background?** He came from high nobility, which guaranteed him both education and affluence. This defies the simplistic argument that it was the bourgeoisie who solely led the battle against the outdated practices of monarchy. Rather, the role and influence of the liberal nobles like Mirabeau, Lafayette, Condorcet, Liancourt and Talleyrand was prominent during the idealistic early phase of the revolution.
- **What were Lafayette's key ideas?** His most significant points of focus were promoting a constitutional monarchy while maintaining order and security within the nation. His other ideas included a strong central government, formation of a national militia, abolition of slavery and religious freedom.
- **What was Lafayette's role in the early stages of revolution?** He was elected to the Assembly of Notables (1787), to the Estates General (May 1789), and as Vice-President of the revolutionary National Assembly (July 1789). He formed the revolutionary cockade by merging the colours of Paris (red/blue) with the white of the King, and was appointed leader of the Paris National Guard (July 1789) after the fall of the Bastille.
- **What was Lafayette's role in the middle stages of revolution?** Lafayette's greatest phase was in 1789 and 1790: he was instrumental in calming the angry crowd who had marched to the Versailles Palace, which resulted in the peaceful return of the King to Paris; he founded the conservative Feuillant Party (1790) to promote a constitutional monarchy; and, in the presence of Louis and Marie Antoinette, led the ceremony to celebrate the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille in 1790.
- **What was the main turning point in Lafayette's political career?** While his popularity had developed over nine years, his fall from favour took only thirteen months. It began when a crowd of 50 000 *sans culottes* had gathered at the Champ de Mars in July 1791 regarding a Jacobin petition demanding that the National Assembly replace the King constitutionally. Mayor of Paris, Bailly, declared martial law, making the demonstrations illegal. Lafayette demanded that the crowd disperse. Upon their refusal, his National Guard fired on the crowd, killing between thirteen and fifty. The key issue of this protest was the power-play between popular democracy (the *sans culottes* popular movement) and parliamentary democracy (the National Assembly).
- **How did Lafayette fall from favour?** Despite being officially honoured when he resigned in October 1791, the Champ de Mars massacre had created an irreparable rift between Lafayette and the *sans culottes*. The final straw was his misreading of the tenuous political situation in 1792. When the War with Austria began in April, he reluctantly agreed to control one of France's three armies and then later spoke out against the *sans culottes*' attacks on the Tuileries Palace on 20 July and 10 August. After his second outburst, he was sacked by the Legislative Assembly and declared a rebel against the revolution. On that very day, Lafayette and twenty-two of his staff escaped to Austria where he was immediately arrested and remained in Prussian prisons until 1797.

## Key information

Key individuals	Key groups	Key documents	Key concepts
Louis XVI Sieyès Lafayette Mirabeau	First Estate Second Estate Third Estate – Bourgeoisie – Urban Workers – Peasants Estates General National Assembly	Necker's <i>Compte Rendu</i> , 1781 <i>Cahier de doléances</i> , 1789 Sieyès' <i>What is the Third Estate?</i> , 1789 Abolition of Feudalism, 1789	Absolute monarchy Divine right Representation Sovereignty Nation General will
Others to consider Bailly Rousseau			



## 2. Creating a new society

Underlying this Area of Study is an absolutely crucial premise: *the new society was not created easily*. Students often simplify information in order to take away the thinking and make it more easily remembered. Yet history is not black and white. Humans can be both inspiring and devastating; they can maintain consistent ideas or change them whimsically; they can react logically or make terrible decisions. So when we study many individuals making up larger urban and rural groups within an extensive society, the result is very complex. This is the intrigue of human history. In this part of the course you need to grasp the many problems experienced by various individuals, groups and the government in the new society, and evaluate how effectively each responded to those crises.

### Chronology of key events

Date	Event	Significance
26 Aug. 1789	<b>Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The most crucial document of the revolution.</li> <li>In it, human rights are defined as 'liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression'.</li> <li>It places a strong emphasis on law.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It represented the end of absolutism and the introduction of representative government.</li> <li>It declared the fundamental principles of the new society.</li> <li>It became the visionary blueprint for the 1791 Constitution.</li> </ul>
5–6 Oct. 1789	<b>March of Women to Versailles</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Seven thousand women followed by Lafayette's National Guard marched to the royal palace to protest bread prices.</li> <li>The protest literally and symbolically brought the King back to the people of Paris.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It stopped the King from using troops to crush the Assembly.</li> <li>The King became a citizen of France rather than a monarch.</li> <li>The King and new government now became subject to the powerful influence of the popular movement in Paris.</li> </ul>
Nov. 1789	<b>Sale of Church lands</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The National Assembly confiscated all Church land.</li> <li>Land was sold to try and solve the nation's financial problems.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The inequality of the Church was reformed.</li> <li>Church lost independence by having both financial and spiritual authority removed.</li> </ul>
12 July 1790	<b>Civil Constitution of the Clergy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The major Church reforms:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>clergy were now elected</li> <li>clergy paid by State</li> <li>power of the Pope reduced.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A distinct division was made between Church and State.</li> <li>It created intense division and disillusionment among many priests, peasants and the devout King.</li> </ul>
20 June 1791	<b>Flight to Varennes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The royal family escaped from Paris aiming to reach support in Austria.</li> <li>Louis left documents declaring his opposition to the revolution.</li> <li>Louis recognised and caught at Varennes.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The King abandoned the revolution.</li> <li>The King lost his popularity and respect.</li> <li>The republican movement was initiated.</li> </ul>
17 July 1791	<b>Champ de Mars massacre</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A crowd of 50 000 gathered to sign a petition against the King.</li> <li>Mayor Bailly called on Lafayette to restore order.</li> <li>National Guard fired on the crowd killing up to 50 and injuring many others.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This was a crucial turning point in an otherwise unified and idealistic revolution.</li> <li>Revolutionaries had fired on other revolutionaries.</li> <li>A moderate revolution had temporarily defeated the radical revolution.</li> </ul>
14 Sept. 1791	<b>Constitution</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>France's first Constitution: main authority given to government; monarch's powers limited.</li> <li>It defined citizenship and voting.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Tennis Court Oath was fulfilled.</li> <li>Louis became King of the French.</li> <li>There is no thought of removing the King.</li> <li>The political system had changed from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy.</li> </ul>
April 1792	<b>France declared war on Austria</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Girondin deputies promoted war.</li> <li>France suffered immediate defeats.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This war was pivotal in creating an atmosphere of fear that resulted in a series of violent events and policies and that radicalised the revolution.</li> </ul>
July 1792	<b>Brunswick Manifesto</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Brunswick was a Commander of powerful Austro-Prussian armies.</li> <li>A threat of 'exemplary and ever-memorable vengeance' on Paris if the monarchy was not returned.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This document sealed the King's fate, as it was considered proof of the treachery of the King.</li> <li>The immediate result was a spontaneous uprising of Parisian <i>sans culottes</i>.</li> </ul>

Date	Event	Significance
10 Aug. 1792	<b>Storming of Tuileries</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Outraged by the Brunswick Manifesto, the royal palace was violently attacked and 5000 guards annihilated.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It was the bloodiest <i>journée</i> of the revolution.</li> <li>The monarchy was suspended from power, then imprisoned.</li> <li>France became a republic one month later.</li> </ul>
2–6 Sept. 1792	<b>September prison massacres</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prussia declared war on France in June and within weeks had defeated Verdun and Longwy in northern France, escalating fear of Paris being overthrown.</li> <li>Suspected counter-revolutionaries in Paris prisons were systematically massacred by the <i>sans culottes</i>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>These bloody acts of hysteria were considered the Second Revolution and characterised the period of terror that was to come during 1793 and 1794.</li> <li>The uncontrollable power of the Parisian popular movement was recognised.</li> </ul>
22 Sept. 1792	<b>France became a Republic</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The 1791 Constitution was unworkable after 10 August <i>journée</i>.</li> <li>A new system of government needed to be introduced.</li> <li>A republic was passed.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The political transition from absolute monarchy to no monarchy (i.e. a republic) was completed.</li> <li>The new government, now called the National Convention, less than one year later implemented the Reign of Terror which has become synonymous with the revolution.</li> </ul>
Jan. 1793	<b>King Louis XVI executed</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The first major decision of the Convention was the fate of the King.</li> <li>A secret iron chest was discovered with documents proving Louis' alliance with Austria.</li> <li>All agreed on his guilt of 'conspiracy against public liberty'.</li> <li>His execution was voted for, 387 to 334.</li> <li>Louis was guillotined on 21 January.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The first task of the National Convention was its greatest.</li> <li>The King was executed as Citizen Louis Capet.</li> <li>The Jacobins, or more appropriately called the Montagnards, gained moral control in the Convention.</li> </ul>
Feb. 1793	<b>France declares war on Britain and Holland</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>External opposition to France had grown to an imposing Grand Coalition of five countries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The declaration dramatically increased the threat of foreign invasion and victory of invaders.</li> <li>France was now threatened on all borders.</li> </ul>
March 1793	<b>Provincial revolt</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Intense resistance to revolution was mainly in the Vendée region.</li> <li>Revolts occurred due to conscription and de-Christianisation.</li> <li>The revolts were brutally defeated through Representatives on mission.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The crisis in France escalated with the emergence of another more damaging threat – the enemy within.</li> </ul>
April 1793	<b>Committee of Public Safety created</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The emergency organs, Revolutionary Tribunal and Committee of Public Safety (CPS), were established.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The establishment of these demonstrated the severity of the war crisis.</li> <li>The CPS' use of emergency powers meant that it was more powerful than the Convention.</li> </ul>
2 June 1793	<b>Purge of Girondin deputies from National Convention</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Convention was surrounded by 80 000 National Guards with canons.</li> <li>The 29 Girondin deputies were arrested and later executed in October.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This is the first time force was used against an elected assembly.</li> <li>The <i>sans culottes</i> had significant influence over political decisions.</li> </ul>
24 June 1793	<b>1793 Constitution accepted</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Montagnards wrote a new constitution.</li> <li>The main feature was universal manhood suffrage.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Convention submitted to the demands of the <i>sans culottes</i>.</li> </ul>
July 1793	<b>Marat assassinated</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In response to the dismissal of Girondins from the Convention, young Charlotte Corday stabbed the popular Jacobin Marat in his bath.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This is one of the main catalysts for the Terror as the Montagnards purged all threats to their dominance.</li> <li>Marat was portrayed as a martyr and became a symbol of the threat facing the revolution.</li> </ul>
July 1793	<b>Robespierre became a member of the Committee of Public Safety</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robespierre's name is synonymous with the French Revolution through his influential role in the CPS. Primarily he was attributed with initiating the Reign of Terror.</li> </ul>



Date	Event	Significance
Sept. 1793	<b>'Law of Suspects' and 'Maximum' policies introduced</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Law of Suspects allowed subjective judgements in trial and execution.</li> <li>Maximum was an economic policy attempting to control the <i>sans culottes'</i> problem of high prices.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Human and legal rights outlined in the Declaration of 1789 were removed.</li> </ul>
Oct./Nov. 1793	<b>Guillotining of Montagnards' political opponents</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Law of Suspects enabled rapid execution orders to be passed by the Revolutionary Tribunal.</li> <li>Guillotined: Marie Antoinette, Brissot and 20 other Girondin leaders, Madame Roland, Bailly, Barnave, and the Duke of Orléans.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Reign of Terror was politicised.</li> </ul>
Mar.–April 1794	<b>Guillotining of revolutionary leaders</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Terror climaxed in early 1794.</li> <li>85% of executions were for treason, conspiracy and counter-revolutionary opinions.</li> <li>Powerful revolutionary leaders Hébert, Danton and Desmoulins were executed.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'The revolution (...) is devouring its own children'.</li> <li>Nobody was safe from the Terror.</li> </ul>
June 1794	<b>Festival of the Supreme Being</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The National Convention replaced Christianity with an enlightened religion of reason.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The de-Christianisation movement was a deliberate attempt to destroy Christianity within France.</li> </ul>
July 1794	<b>Coup of Thermidor II</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robespierre's terror continued even after the War with Austria had ended.</li> <li>Robespierre declared that the Convention needed to be purged of traitors.</li> <li>Robespierre was arrested and guillotined.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robespierre had become a symbol of the hated corruption of the Terror.</li> <li>The death of Robespierre and his supporters ended the Reign of Terror and hence the radical phase of the revolution.</li> </ul>
Sept. 1795	<b>Constitution</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robespierre's influence, instruments and policies were abandoned.</li> <li>The end of the National Convention.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The revolution became more moderate and conservative.</li> </ul>

## The contribution of groups and individuals to the creation of a new society

No leader or group worked in isolation. Rather, this period is characterised by a complex web of individuals, political clubs and popular movements that had sprung up during the political freedom of 1789–92. The following were three of the most notable leaders of this time.

### Danton, 1759–94

- Danton's career as a court lawyer prepared him for his role in the revolution.
- Extremely popular with the urban workers, he was elected to the Paris Commune in 1790, was a member of the National Convention and member of the Committee of Public Safety.
- His most prominent role in the revolution was his death at the hands of the very revolution he had shaped and influenced so greatly.
- The phrase 'the revolution (...) is devouring its own children' applies most aptly to Danton.

### Marat, 1743–93

Marat was one of the most radical Jacobins of the revolution because of his belief in popular violence, public executions and dictatorship. His roles were as member of the National Convention and as editor of his newspaper called *L'ami du peuple*.

- What influence did Marat have on the shape of revolution?** He insisted on the King's execution after the King's capture at Varennes (1790), called for the deaths of the deputies responsible for the Champ de Mars massacre (1791), opposed the War with Austria (1792), encouraged the September prison massacres (1792) and instigated the purge of the Girondins from the Convention (1793).

- What was the result of Marat's death?** When Girondin Charlotte Corday stabbed Marat in his medicinal bath in July 1793, she hoped to rid France of his destructive influence. Instead, his murder established him as a 'martyr to liberty', initiated a personality cult, and, most significantly, was the catalyst for the government's violent Reign of Terror, which lasted for thirteen months.

### Robespierre, 1758–94

If Lafayette was the most recognisable leader of the idealistic phase, Robespierre was his equal in the radical phase. The common error is that we can too easily attribute everything that occurred in the Reign of Terror to Robespierre, as members of the Convention did after his arrest and execution in July 1794. Robespierre was one of the twelve members of the Committee of Public Safety who were given emergency powers by the Convention to save the nation from internal and external enemies of the revolution. Robespierre was a professional revolutionary who sacrificed his private life for public political affairs. His emphasis on integrity and virtue earned him the nickname 'The Incorruptible'.

Ideology	
Robespierre assumed the role as defender and conscience of the great principles of the revolution.	
Early ideas, 1789–91	Later ideas, 1792–94
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Attacked upper clergy and privilege – but not an atheist</li> <li>Opposed to royal absolutism</li> <li>Advocated the sovereignty of the people</li> <li>Condemned capital punishment</li> <li>Attacked active/passive citizen distinction in 1791</li> <li>Constitution</li> <li>Believed that the elected assembly is inviolable</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Opposed war with Austria in 1792</li> <li>Was Republican</li> <li>Argued that political stability was imperative – even at the cost of eliminating political rivals or parties</li> <li>Emphasised a nation of virtue</li> </ul>
Ideas that changed	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No longer condemned capital punishment</li> <li>Elected assembly is inviolable – with his growing dependence on the <i>sans culottes</i>, he altered this idea to believe that the popular movement had an open role in influencing policy direction and development through exerting direct and even violent pressure on the National Convention.</li> </ul>	

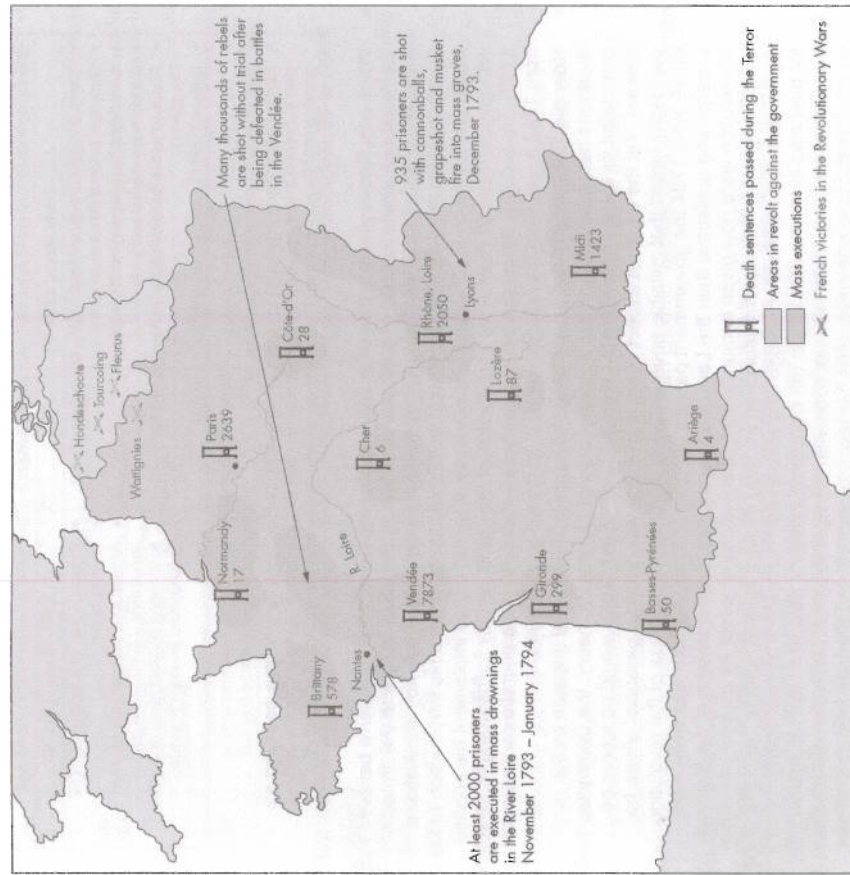
- What was Robespierre's link with the popular movement?** Robespierre believed that the revolution would only survive the war emergency if it allied itself with the armed working people of Paris, the *sans culottes*. But his alliance had two key implications. Firstly, it forced Robespierre to consider economic issues (hence his introduction of the Maximum, a limit on food prices) and secondly, it forced him to implement his policies with greater severity (hence his introduction of the death penalty for hoarding food, July 1793). Up to 1791, he gained his popularity as a defender of democratic causes, while from 1792 it was from his policies rather than from personal qualities.
- How did Robespierre fall from favour?** The threat of external invasion by the Austrians had subsided with the French victory at Fleurus. In theory, the Committee had completed its task of defending the Republic and so the Terror would no longer be needed. Yet the weakest aspect of his leadership was 'political paranoia' where he constantly hinted that invisible enemies were stunting the progress of the revolution. So on 10 June 1794 the government passed the Law of Prairial, which was even more extreme and subjective than the Law of Suspects. Not even members of the National Convention were now given immunity from accusations or arrest for counter-revolution. On 26 July 1794, Robespierre launched stinging attacks against notable members of the Convention and claimed knowledge of a widespread conspiracy against liberty. Fearful for their own lives, the next day in the Convention several deputies rose up against him, denounced him as a traitor, did not allow him the right to speak in his own defence, and arrested him. In the ensuing scuffle, his jaw was shot off and dangled loosely until tied roughly with a handkerchief. Robespierre was guillotined on 28 July 1794 along with his brother and members of the Committee of Public Safety, Saint-Just and Couthon. Eighty people in total were guillotined at a rate of one per minute in the first hour.



## The causes of crises faced by the revolutionaries

### War with Austria

- The year 1792 was a pivotal one that saw a dramatic shift in the revolution. It stands at the end of the consolidation period, 1789–92, and the beginning of the radicalisation of the revolution, 1792–94. The direct cause of this transition was France's declaration of war against Austria in April 1792. Historian Townson explains the impact of the war: 'The war finally destroyed the consensus of 1789. It led directly to the fall of the monarchy, to civil war and to the Terror.'
- The Austrian threat expanded to invasion by a Grand Coalition, comprising also the Prussian, Spanish, English and Russian armies.
- Military failures were compounded by threats made by the Duke of Brunswick, the Commanding Officer of the Austro-Prussian armies. In what was called 'the Brunswick Manifesto', he promised 'exemplary and ever memorable vengeance' on the city of Paris if the royal family were harmed.



Map of France showing internal and external threats and the impact of the Terror

## Response to the crises

### Sans culottes

- The workers in Paris were outraged at the Duke of Brunswick's threats. Incited by Danton and Robespierre and outraged by the King's obvious treachery, they stormed the royal palace in Paris, called the 'Tuilleries'. A bitter battle ensued, resulting in 5000 of the royal Swiss guard being killed.
- Only weeks later the *sans culottes* again resorted to violent action as the war with Austria was becoming disastrous. By the end of August 1792, the Austrian army had reached Verdun, a mere 100 kilometres from Paris.
- In one of the greatest acts of reactive spontaneous violence during the revolution, the *sans culottes* invaded the city prisons and systematically murdered nobles and nonjuring priests who were feared to be counter-revolutionaries.
- In June 1793, the *sans culottes* again directly influenced the political sphere by pounding on the doors of the Convention and demanding the expulsion of the Girondin deputies.

### Execution of Louis XVI

- After Louis' failed escape and recapture at Varennes in June 1791, his role within the new society was minimal.
- France became a Republic in September 1792, which raised the question of what to do with Louis. His counter-revolutionary alliances with Austria and the émigrés were well documented, so freeing him was not an option. In December, the Convention established a court of law to try him for his treason and decide on a verdict of life imprisonment or death.
- On 14 January 1793, Louis Capet was found guilty of 'conspiracy against public liberty and of attacks on the general security of the State'. The punishment of execution was barely passed, with only fifty-four per cent of the Convention deputies in agreement.
- He was publicly guillotined on 21 January 1793. Marie Antoinette followed in October.

### Committee of Public Safety

- The Committee of Public Safety was created on 6 April 1793 as an emergency war cabinet with extraordinary powers to conduct the war against Austria. It became the most dominant political body of the revolution.
- The National Convention charged it with powers to take executive measures to ensure the internal and external defence of the Republic. The Committee of Public Safety:
  - could not declare war or peace
  - could not pass legislation
  - met in secret
  - voted by simple majority.
- Robespierre only agreed to join the Committee of Public Safety on 27 July 1793. Exactly one year after, he was arrested by the Convention as a traitor and tyrant.

### Revolutionary Tribunal

- A Revolutionary Tribunal was established in March 1793 at the insistence of the *sans culottes* in order to deal quickly with political offenders. Around half the sentences they passed were death sentences, totalling 16 594 individuals.
- The political Reign of Terror was aided significantly by the passing of the radical and arbitrary Law of Suspects in September 1793. Suspects were subjectively defined as anyone who 'by their behaviour, their contacts, their words or their writings, showed themselves to be ... enemies of liberty.'



## Reign of Terror

- The Jacobin-dominated government embarked on the most bloodthirsty period of the revolution from June 1793 to July 1794 when they eliminated their political opponents and suspected counter-revolutionaries. Brissot and twenty other Girondin leaders, Marie Antoinette, Duke of Orleans, Madame Roland, Barnave, Danton and Hébert were all guillotined.
- Economic terror was implemented through the enforcement of the Law of the Maximum, which imposed a limit on the prices of forty of the main foods and goods such as corn, flour and oil, and introduced the death penalty for hoarders.
- Ideological terror also pervaded French society. De-Christianisation was enforced through the establishment of the Festival of Reason and the Supreme Being. Most damaging, however, was the focus on establishing a nation of virtue where citizens were forced to sacrifice their individual desires for the general good.

## Federalist revolts

- While the greatest publicity was given to the deaths of popular leaders in Paris, eighty-four per cent of the deaths in the Terror occurred in the provinces. Seventy-two per cent of deaths in the provinces were in three main areas of greatest resistance: the Vendée province, the town of Lyon and the Midi region.
- The Convention sent deputies throughout France (called 'representatives on mission'), along with *armées révolutionnaires*, to ensure adherence to revolutionary principles and to suppress resistance.
- The most significant revolt was in the Vendée where the Convention representative, Jean-Baptiste Carrier, authorised the drowning of 2000 rebels in the River Loire when the portable guillotine proved too slow. The official documents record 8713 deaths in the Vendée in a three-month period to January 1794.
- Overall estimates range as high as 200 000 deaths in the provinces.

## The compromise of revolutionary ideals

During the authoritarian rule of the Committee of Public Safety, the liberties of freedom of speech, the press and association from the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen were compromised, primarily through the Law of Suspects.

## The changes and continuities that the revolution brought about

Below are some of the main reforms instituted by the three revolutionary governments between 1789 and 1794 (National Assembly, Legislative Assembly and National Convention). The Jacobin revolutionaries of 1793 and 1794 were not exclusively bloodthirsty tyrants but instead many were trying to create a new and better society. Not all of the following reforms were lasting outcomes.

- Feudal rights and dues were abolished entirely (1789 Abolition of Feudalism)
- Proportional taxation introduced (1789 Abolition of Feudalism)
- Abolition of privilege, and advancement by merit (1789 Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen)
- Equality before the law (1789 Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen)
- Religious liberty granted to Protestants in 1789 and to Jews in 1790–91
- Right of women to inherit property (1790)
- Black people in French colonies were given the same rights as White people.
- People could become citizens and take an oath to the nation. (1791 Constitution)
- Divorce for women (Sept. 1792)
- Full universal manhood suffrage (Sept. 1792)
- Free state compulsory primary education (Dec. 1793, almost a century before the British)
- Abolition of slavery in French colonies (1794)
- Unified law code – eventually developed into the Code Napoleon (1807)

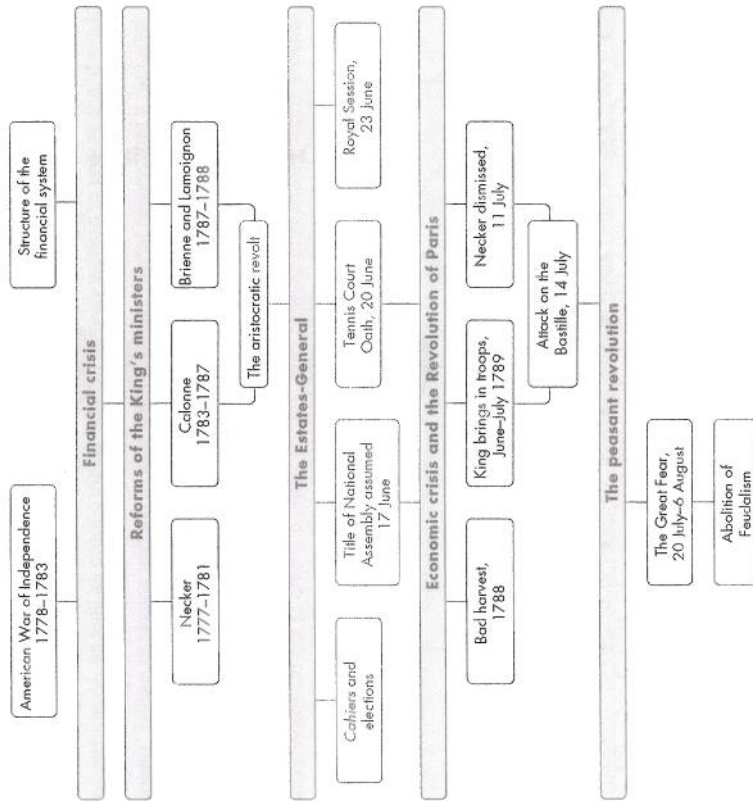
## Key information

Key individuals	Key groups	Key documents	Key concepts
Marat Danton Robespierre	Grondins Jacobins (Montagnards) National Convention Committee of Public Safety Revolutionary Tribunal <i>Sans culottes</i>	Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen Civil Constitution of the Clergy 1791 Constitution Brunswick Manifesto Law of Suspects 1793 Constitution Law of Maximum Law of Prairial 1795 Constitution	Consolidation Authoritarianism Policies of social control Radicalisation Foreign intervention Counter-revolution
<i>Others to consider:</i> Desmoullins Hébert			

## Internet locations for further revision

## Visual summary: The French Revolution

### 1. Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events





## Cram Notes: The Russian Revolution

These Cram Notes summarise key concepts and content for the Russian Revolution, following the requirements of each Area of Study in the VCAA Study Design. Use them to help revise your knowledge and understanding of what will be tested in the external exam.

### Overview

In the early 1900s Russia was a country ripe for political revolution. Clinging to a semi-medieval autocracy, bolstered by the powerful Russian Orthodox Church and feudal social structure, Tsarism as a system of government was extremely outdated. Russian tsars had ruled over their empire through a mishmash of personality, idolatry, superstition, secrecy, oppression and violence. Economic reforms in Russia in the 1890s were not matched by political reforms; some Russians wanted political representation but found Nicholas II unwilling to share his sovereignty. The reforms of 1905 seemed to deliver these long-desired changes but they were a sham. World War One again highlighted the inadequacies of the regime and the need for revolution. But did it have to be a socialist revolution?

The year 1917 was to become the great crossroad in Russian history. At that point, the nation might have tentatively moved forward into parliamentary democracy, under a constitutional monarch or a republican head of state. Instead, amid the savagery and strain of World War One, a more radical form of government was to emerge, undermining more moderate attempts at reform and appealing to those classes long neglected under the old regime. The Bolsheviks were Russia's most extreme socialist revolutionary group but also the most organised and determined – in October 1917 they overthrew the baseless Provisional Government and embarked upon their plan to restructure Russia along socialist lines. Few elsewhere in the world expected the Bolshevik regime to succeed; many foreign governments, as well as groups inside Russia, actively worked to ensure that it would fail. The new regime faced considerable opposition that forced it to compromise and change its ideals, betray its origins and act in similar ways to the Tsarist regime that it replaced.

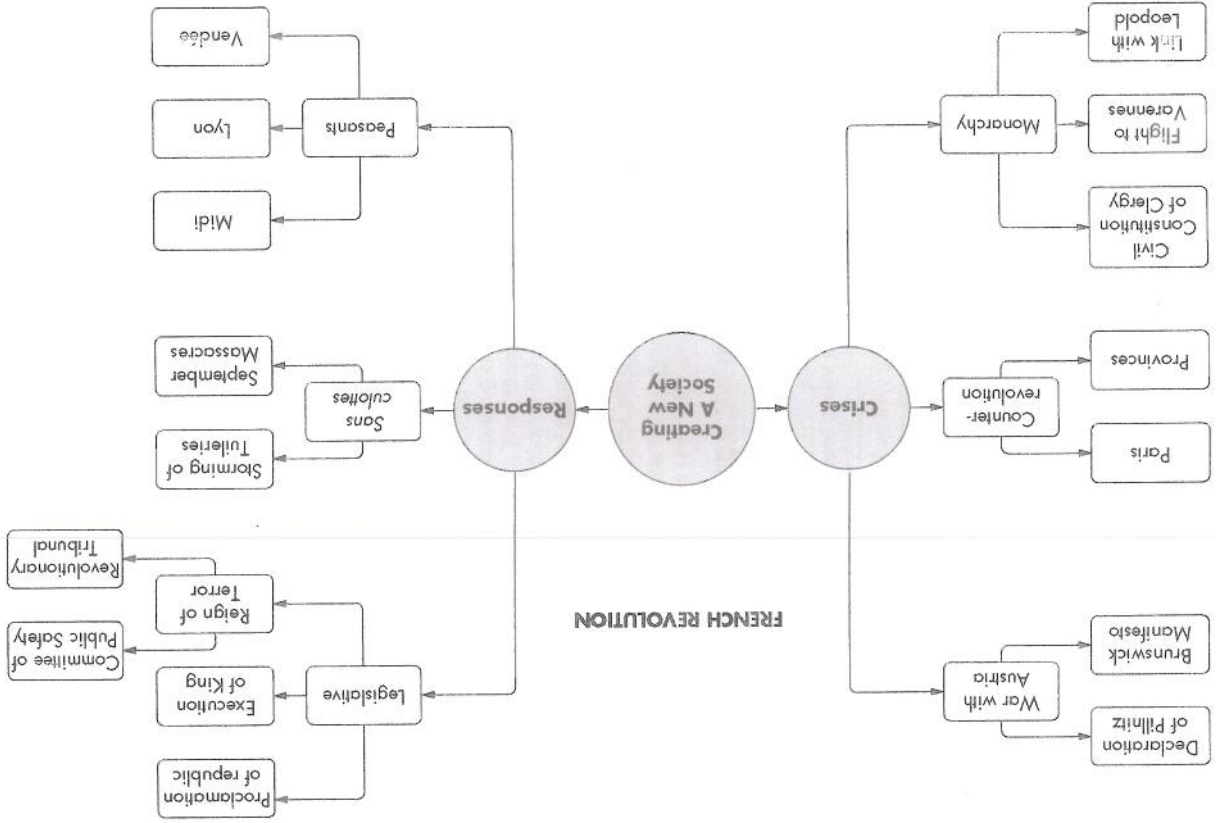
In your own writing about the Russian Revolution, refrain from absolute statements, such as 'the Russian Revolution failed' or preconceptions, such as 'communism does not work'; analysis requires an open mind and a consideration that all revolutions and ideologies are unique to the settings in which they occur. It is undeniable that while Lenin and the Bolsheviks set out to create a better society, they created only limited improvements, and at great cost: war, famine, terror, violence and denial of freedoms. However, this was not wholly due to flawed ideology but also to other conditions, circumstances and opposition.

Understanding the complexity of Bolshevik ideas, obstacles and responses will give you a stronger grasp of the revolution generally and allow you to more capably assess the outcomes of the new regime.

See page 62 for a Glossary of Terms specific to the Russian Revolution.

Before 1918 Russia used the Julian, or Old Style, calendar while the rest of Europe used the Gregorian, or New Style, calendar. All dates given in these Cram Notes on the Russian Revolution are Julian calendar dates, unless otherwise specified. These dates are thirteen days behind Gregorian calendar dates. Readers should also be aware that the Russian capital, Saint Petersburg, changed its name to Petrograd in 1914.

## 2. Creating a new society





## Events preceding but pertinent to the French Revolution

### 1785

- The Diamond Necklace Affair results in the discrediting of Marie Antoinette

### 1786

- Louis XVI and France face economic ruin

## Pre-Revolutionary Phase

### 1787

- February 22: First Assembly of Notables, called by Charles Alexandre de Calonne against a background of state financial instability and general resistance by e.g. the aristocracy to the imposition of taxes and fiscal reforms.
- May 1: Étienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne replaces de Calonne as Contoller-General of Finances.
- May 25: First Assembly of Notables dissolved.

### 1788

- May 8: Louis XVI issues the Lamoignon Edict which abolishes the power of parliament to review royal edicts
- August: Jacques Necker replaced as Minister for Finance; de Lomenie, Archbishop of Toulouse made Prime Minister
- November: Necker persuades the king to reconvene the Assembly of Notables.

### 1789

- January 24: General unrest occasioned by economic conditions leads to the Summoning of the Estates-General for the first time since 1614

## Estates-General and Constituent Assembly

- May 5: Meeting of the Estates-General
- June 10: The Third Estate (*Tiers Etat*) (commons) votes for the common verification of credentials, in opposition to the First Estate (the clergy) and the Second Estate (the aristocracy)
- June 17: The Third Estate (commons) declares itself as a National Assembly
- June 20: Third Estate/National Assembly are locked out of meeting houses by royal decree; the Third Estate chooses to continue despite decree and decides upon a declarative vow, known as the "serment au Jeu de Paume" (The Tennis Court Oath), not to dissolve until the constitution has been established
- June 23: Two companies of French guards mutiny in the face of public unrest



- June 24: 48 nobles, headed by the Duke of Orleans, side with the Third Estate. A significant number of the clergy follow their example.
- June 27: Louis orders the First and Second estates to join the Third.
- June 30: Large crowd storms left bank prison and frees mutinous French Guards
- July 1: Louis recruits more troops, among them many foreign mercenaries
- July 9: National Assembly reconstitutes itself as National Constituent Assembly
- July 11: Necker dismissed by Louis; populace sack the monasteries, ransack aristocrats homes in search of food and weapons
- July 12: The Prince de Lambesc appears at the Tuilleries with an armed guard.
- July 14: Storming of the Bastille; de l'Aulnay, (the governor), Foulon (the Secretary of State) and de Flesselle (the then equivalent of the mayor of Paris), amongst others, are massacred
- July 15: Lafayette appointed Commander of the National Guard
- July 16: Necker recalled, troops pulled out of Paris
- July 17: The beginning of the Great Fear, the peasantry revolt against feudalism and a number of urban disturbances and revolts
- August 4: Surrender of feudal rights
- August 27: Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen approved by the National Assembly
- October 5-6: Outbreak of the Paris mob; Liberal monarchical constitution;
- November 2: Church property nationalised and otherwise expropriated
- December 12 *Assignats* are used as legal tender

## 1790

- February 13 Suppression of monastic vows and religious orders
- July 14: Constitution accepted by King Louis XVI; the first Fete of Federation begins, celebrating the fall of the Bastille.
- July: Growing power of the clubs (including: Cordeliers, Jacobin Club)
- July: Reorganisation of Paris
- September: Fall of Necker

## 1791

- January 30: Mirabeau elected President of the Assembly
- February 28: Day of Daggers; Lafayette orders the arrest of 400 armed aristocrats at the Tuilleries
- March 2: Abolition of trade guilds
- April 2: Death of Mirabeau
- April 13: Papal bull, *Cavitas*, condemning the Civil Constitution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen is published
- June 14: Le Chapelier law banning trade unions is passed by National Assembly
- June 20–25: Royal family's flight to Varennes
- June 25: Louis XVI forced to return to Paris
- July 10: Leopold II issues the Padua Circular calling on the royal houses of Europe to come to his brother-in-law, Louis XVI's aid.



- July 15: National Assembly declares the king to be inviolable and he is reinstated.
- July 17: Champ-de-Mars massacre in which the National Guard fire on protestors against the reinstatement of the king
- August 27: Declaration of Pillnitz ( Frederick William II and Leopold II)
- September 13–14: Louis XVI accepts the constitution formally
- September 30: Dissolution of the National Constituent Assembly

### Legislative Assembly

- October 1: Legislative Assembly meets
- November 9 All *émigrés* are ordered by the Assembly to return under threat of death
- November 11 Louis vetoes the ruling of the Assembly on *émigrés*.

### 1792

- January – March : Food riots in Paris
- February 7: Alliance of Austria and Prussia
- April 20: French declare war against Austria
- August 10–13: Storming of the Tuileries Palace. Louis XVI of France is arrested and taken into custody, along with his family
- August 19 Lafayette flees to Austria
- August 22 Royalist riots in Brittany, La Vendée and Dauphiné
- September 2–7: The September Massacres

### The National Convention

- September 20: Battle of Valmy
- September 20: Final sessions of the Legislative Assembly and first meeting of the National Convention; unanimous vote for the abolition of the monarchy
- September 20: France declared a Republic by the National Convention
- October 10: The terms *monsieur* and *madame* are banned by decree, to be replaced with *citoyen* and *citoyenne*
- December 11: Commencement of the trial of Louis XVI before the Convention

### 1793

- January 14: The Convention votes almost unanimously in affirmation of Louis' guilt
- January 17: A sentence of death is imposed on the King by the majority of a single vote
- January 21: Execution of Louis XVI
- February 1: War declared against Britain, Holland, Spain
- February 14: France annexes Monaco
- March: Royalist revolt in the Vendée
- March 10: Establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal



- April 6: Power centered in the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Security
- June 2: Arrest of 31 Girondist deputies
- June 24: Ratification of the Constitution of 1793 (the Constitution was never put into effect)
- July 12: Royalist revolt in Toulon
- July 13: Assassination of Jean-Paul Marat
- July 27: Robespierre joins the Committee of Public Safety
- August 23: Levy of entire male population, the *Levée en masse*
- September 17: Passing of the Law of Suspects
- September 29: Passing of the *Law of Maximum Général*, a comprehensive program of wage and price controls
- October 9: Lyon retaken by republicans from royalists
- October 16: Execution of Marie Antoinette
- October 31: Execution of Girondist leaders
- November 8: Madame Roland executed
- November 10: Abolition of the worship of god: Cult of Reason
- December: Retreat of the allies across the Rhine
- December 19: English evacuate Toulon
- December 23: Battle of Savenay crushes the royalist revolt in La Vendée

## 1794

- January 19: English land in Corsica
- February 4: Abolition of slavery in colonies
- March 24: Execution of the Hébertists
- April 2: Trial of Danton begins
- April 6: Execution of the Dantonists
- May 7: Beginning of Cult of the Supreme Being
- June 8: Festival of the Supreme Being
- June 10: Law of 22 Prairial
- June 26: Battle of Fleurus (1794) (French victory in Belgium)
- July 2-July 13: Battle of the Vosges (French victory on the Rhine)
- July 27: Fall of Maximilien Robespierre (9 Thermidor)
- December 24: Repeal of *maximum*

## 1795

- March 5: Peace of Basel (Prussia withdraws from war)
- April 1: Bread riots in Paris
- June 8: Death of the dauphin (Louis XVII)
- August 22: Constitution of 1795



## SHORT ANSWERS

*Remember to include 5 main points that include terminology, dates, events, leaders and outcomes*

### FRANCE OLD REGIME

How did conflict between estates help to create a revolutionary situation in France by 1789?

What counter-revolutionary activity emerged in France after 1789?

What the importance of the Jacobian Club to the Revolution?

Explain the importance of the Sans Culottes to the Revolution between June and October 1789.

Name two events, which created social and or political tension for the government of Louis XVI between 1781 and June 1789 and explain the significance of one of these events.

Using four or five main points explain why ideological conflicts became a crisis for the absolute monarchy of Louis XVI by 1789.

Outline how disputes over taxation helped create a revolutionary situation in France in the 1770's and 1780's.

Explain how war contributed to a revolutionary situation in France.

Explain how economic tensions added to a revolutionary situation in France.

Outline how the French nobility played a role in the creation of political tensions in the lead up to 1789.

Outline how Louis XVI demonstrated that he was unwilling or unable to implement reform in France up until 1789.

Outline the major tensions and conflicts that existed in the reign of Louis XVI 1787 to 1789.



## **FRANCE CREATING A NEW SOCIETY.**

Name two measures taken by the revolutionary regime in France against opposition to the revolution between 1792 and 1795.

Name three main changes introduced by the revolutionary governments in France between August 1789 and 1794 and explain the significance of one of these changes.

Outline the changes of revolution brought to the power structure in France following the execution of Louis XVI in 1793.

Outline the changes to the social order that the revolution brought about.

What changes to the political order occurred in France after 1792?

Outline the economic order that existed in France around 1793.

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### **How did the Aristocratic Revolt contribute to the Revolution?**

- Stopped the king introducing any reforms to repair the poor financial situation in France.
- Aristocrats in the parlements didn't register any of the king's suggested reforms as it took away the privileges of the first and second estate.
- Aristocrats were the strongest opposition the king confronted
- Riots throughout France, particularly where the parlement met.
- The assembly of Notables, the prince of the blood and the church revolted against the king and this forced the calling of the estates general, which set the scene for the outbreak of the revolution.

### **How did Louis XVI contribute to the outbreak of the Revolution?**

- Inherited a bankrupt nation from Louis XV.
- He reinstated members of the parlements to become more popular, even though Louis's father had sacked them because they would not bring about reform.
- Could not pass any needed reform ("aristocratic Revolt" 1787-89)
- Expensive / extravagant lifestyle (Marie Antoinette etc)
- Extremely high peasant taxes on 3<sup>rd</sup> estate- bred resentment
- No budget and no central bank
- Did not have the strength of character to hold the Lit De Justice
- Absolute
  - no repetitive body
  - no constitution
  - no separation of power
- Calling assembly of notables to suggest reform- Aristocratic Revolt
- Necker suggests estates general- sets the scene for the revolution

### **What were the main causes of the revolution?**

- Bad economic situation and huge national debt in France
  - Inequitable system of taxation (relied heavily on the 3<sup>rd</sup> Estate)
  - Resentment of the powers of the absolute monarchy.
  - Aspiration for liberty and republicanism (by the 3<sup>rd</sup> estate, the ideas of the enlightenment movement have influenced this point)
  - Resentment of manorialism by the peasants who already suffer to feed themselves and families. Wage earners and to a lesser extent the bourgeoisie
  - The rise of the enlightenment ideals
  - Food scarcity (before revolution)-the increase in price of bread and other food sources (due to bad harvest)
  - Resentment of religious intolerance (is the church corrupt?)
  - The failure of Louis XVI to deal effectively with the phenomena of the (including caring for all his subjects)
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### **Why did social tensions and ideological conflicts increase in the pre-revolutionary period?**

- There was a bad harvest in the farms 1787-9
  - people could not find work because there was less food, the prices of staples like bread went up.
  - People earned on average about 20-30 sous although the price of bread was about 12 sous.
- This led to riot and unrest, women attacking bakers ect. Because bakers kept on increasing prices.
- Ideological conflict increased in pre-revolutionary period.
  - The enlightenment gave ideas to the bourgeoisie and encouraged them to question why they could not progress in society based on merit of their work.

### **What Factors Contributed to Frances Pre-Revolutionary Financial Crisis?**

- The financial crisis before the revolution was one of the main reasons for its beginning. People were hungry, poor, and angry at the wealth of the upper classes.
  - Had Louis XVI been able to "handle" the financial crisis along with the Parlement, Estates General or Assembly of Notables, the revolution could have been delayed or even avoided.
- Factors That Contributed to the financial Crisis-*
- The Bad harvest of 1788-89, which resulted in;
    - >No food for the people
    - >No food for trade or economic stimulation ie- people/ country remains poor because there is nothing to trade with.
  - The huge military expenditure on the American War of Independence
  - Bad loans from other nations/ backers- impossible repayment and bad interest.
  - The upper class spending taxes and wealth lavishly on personal items (eg Versailles)
  - Inefficient taxation system, making hard to consolidate money and tax/ distribute money evenly and fairly.
  - The Nobles and Aristocrats refusing to pay taxes to relieve the financial depts.



**TERMS TEST**

1. Aristocratic revolt

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2. Parlements

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3. Ancien Regime

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4. The Enlightenment

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5. The Estates System

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6. Tithe

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7. Philosophes

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8. "What is the Third Estate?"

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9. Bourgeoisie

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10. Estates General

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11. Compte Rendu

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12. Assembly of Notables

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13. Gabelle

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14. Cahiers

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15. Voting by Order

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16. National Assembly

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17. Financial Crisis

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FRANCE	Economy	Society	Government	Other
Before				
After				

# French Revolution Balance Sheet

January 1789

POLITICAL	Who has the power or sovereignty?	
	Which are the different political groups?	
	Whose interests are represented in government?	
	How much liberty do people have?	
	How rigid was censorship?	
ECONOMIC	Is there a controlled economy or free trade?	



	What is the taxation system?	
	What are the economic conditions for those living in the city/countryside? Who are rich? Who are poor?	
	Who owns the land?	
SOCIAL	Identify the main social groups in the society.	
	What role does religion play in society?	
	How is education delivered?	
	How is poor relief delivered?	

IDEAS AND VALUES	What are the main ideas about the government?	
	About the King?	
	About liberty?	
	About privilege vs merit and usefulness to society?	
	About wealth?	
	About the law?	
	About religion?	
	About the nation?	



Revolutionary Ideas	Detail

Revolutionary Leaders	Detail



Revolutionary Movements	Detail

## French Revolution – Revision Table

Date	Division/Union	People	Events	Government	Economy
1780-1789	Discontent of lack of representation for 3 <sup>rd</sup> Estate	Feudal Estates System <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• corrupt Church</li> <li>•</li> </ul>		Divine Right of Absolute Monarchy Louis XVI	Bad harvests led to bread crisis
1789-1791			The Great Fear Abolition of Feudalism	National Assembly	
1794-1795					



## French Revolution Balance Sheet

### The Terror – 1794-1795

POLITICAL	Who has the power or sovereignty?	
	Which are the different political groups?	
	Whose interests are represented in government?	
	How much liberty do people have?	
	How rigid was censorship?	
ECONOMIC	Is there a controlled economy or free trade?	

	What is the taxation system?	
	What are the economic conditions for those living in the city/countryside? Who are rich? Who are poor?	
	Who owns the land?	
SOCIAL	Identify the main social groups in the society.	
	What role does religion play in society?	
	How is education delivered?	
	How is poor relief delivered?	



IDEAS AND VALUES	What are the main ideas about the government?	
	About the King?	
	About liberty?	
	About privilege vs merit and usefulness to society?	
	About wealth?	
	About the law?	
	About religion?	
	About the nation?	

Revolutionary Ideas	Detail



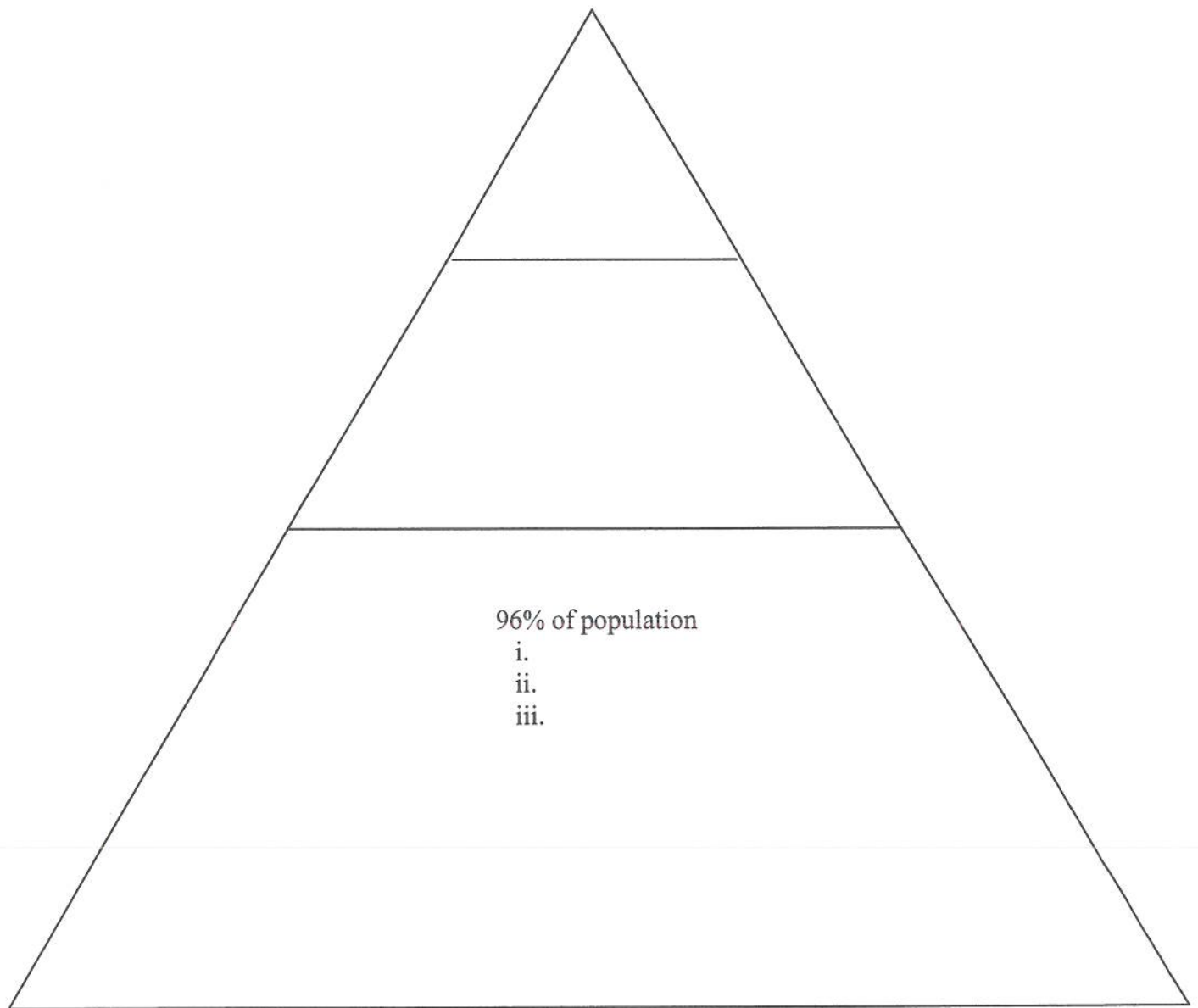
Revolutionary Leaders	Detail

Revolutionary Movements	Detail

Fill in the details of pre-revolutionary society in France

Annotate this diagram with grievances/issues that contributed to the revolutionary situation in France

See if you can develop a structure for the new society with the same detail (grievances/influence)





Re-create and fill out these tables for the many different events for both revolutions and both AOS

EVENT - DETAILS	KEY PLAYERS	IDEOLOGY	OUTCOMES	EVIDENCE	VIEWS

You should aim to do these for AOS1 and AOS2 – the Bolsheviks had different support base and activities in 1905, 1917 and 1923!

GROUPS	ORIGINS	DATES	SUPPORTERS	AIMS	TACTICS	ACTIVITIES	SIGNS OF SUPPORT

## NOTE TAKING SHEETS

Use this format as a basis to create your own.

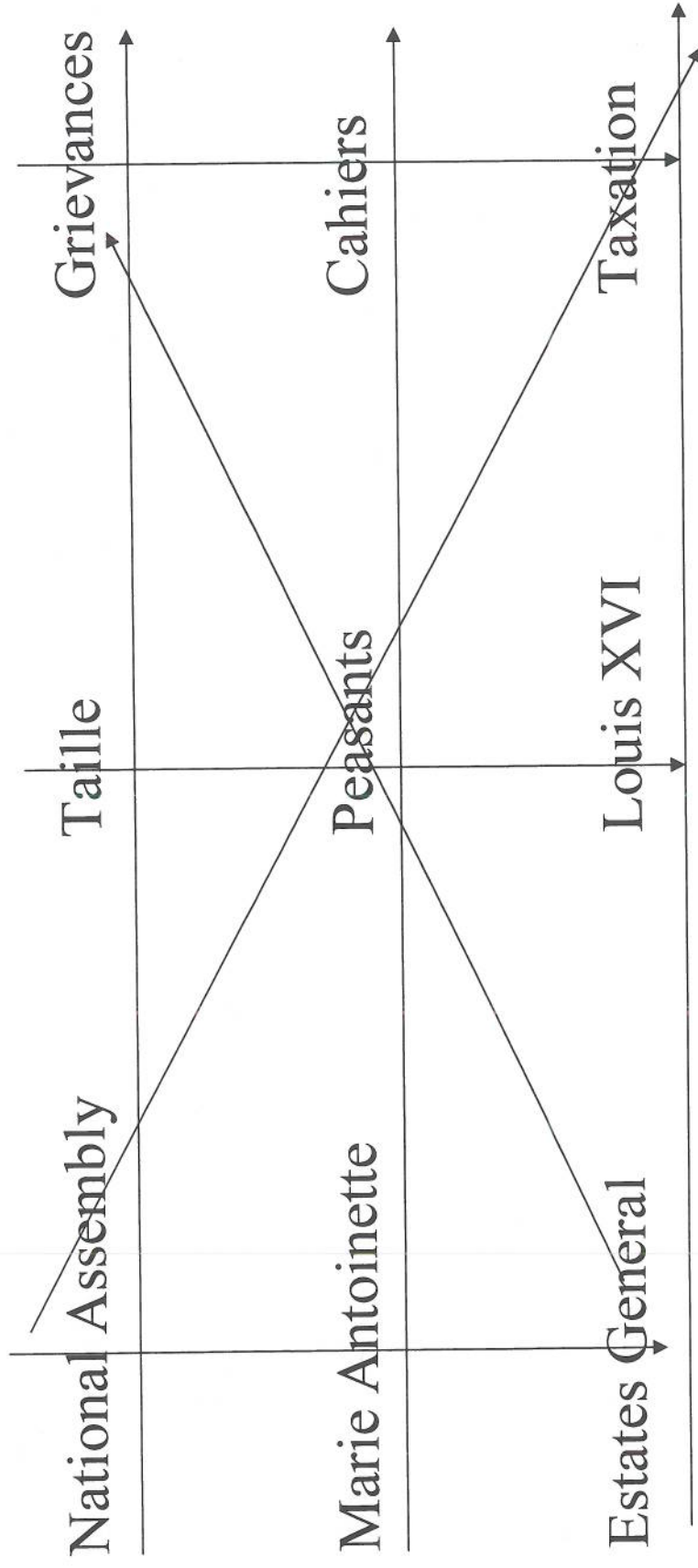
Start with a key question – there are plenty!!! Use the TOPICS OF STUDY if you get stuck for inspiration. Remember to focus on SIGNIFICANCE and OUTCOMES.

What was Necker's Compte Rendu?  
Why was involvement in war so damaging to France?  
What was the Assembly of Notables?

Glossary	Detailed Notes
One sentence summary (you can't waffle on in the exam):	

## SHORT/LONG TERM FACTORS BEHIND REVOLUTION

POLITICAL	ECONOMIC	SOCIAL



- create 8 sentences incorporating the 3 aspects
- use as much DETAIL and TERMINOLOGY as you can
- how many capital letters can you squeeze in there?
- Remember; ideas, leaders, movements and events!